

It would be interesting to see Milton's view of Adam and Eve in this light and to explore the mixture of patriarchal and egalitarian language through this lens. After all Milton's own experience of marriage and his own controversial views of divorce seem to suggest that he was at the very limits of exploring this contradiction. Keeping Lilburne and Milton in their age rather than extracting them from its ideological frame is the more illuminating approach here.

The Parliamentary radicals represented a spectrum of views and both Milton and the Levellers were part of that spectrum. Sometimes and on some issues they were closely related and at other times and on other issues not so much. Understanding how the revolution was made and what its consequences were means grasping this dynamic. Christopher Hill, not a historian likely to overlook the radical influences on Milton, took the view that Milton was in a dialogue with radicals of all hues, including Levellers. But he concluded:

Lest I be misunderstood, I repeat that I do not think Milton was a Leveller, a Ranter, a Muggletonian or a Behemist. Rather I suggest that we should see him living in a state of permanent dialogue with radical views which he could not wholly accept, yet some of which greatly attracted him.

(*Milton and the English Revolution* [1977], 113-14)

Milton's Leveller God is a scholarly and valuable addition to the discussion of democratic and republican ideas in the seventeenth century and an important corrective to less radical interpretations of Milton's epic poetry. Williams's view that Milton drew his vision predominantly from Levellerism is debatable, but he does make a powerful and persuasive case to read *Paradise Lost* as a defense of a democratic republican project.

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Shirley J. Kilpatrick and M. Howard Mattson-Bozé. *Henry Lee Willet and McCartney Library's Paradise Lost Windows: A Story in Lead and Light*. Beaver Falls, PA: Fern Cliffe House Publishers, 2007. 37pp. + 8pp. illustrations. ISBN 13: 9781424313075. \$15 (paper).

Shirley J. Kilpatrick and M. Howard Mattson-Bozé. *Henry Lee Willet and McCartney Library's Pilgrim's Progress Windows: A Story of Grace in Glass*. Beaver Falls PA: Fern Cliffe House Publishers, 2011. 37pp. + 8pp. illustrations. ISBN 13: 9780615491820. \$15 (paper).

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Milton and the visual arts is a widely researched subject but it has not yet extended to stained glass. The Gothic Revival brought with it a revival of stained glass, virtually a lost art in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, and it extended

to secular as well as ecclesiastical architecture. From the mid-nineteenth century, portraits of Milton in stained glass are numerous—in schools, libraries, universities, civic buildings, churches, even residences. Depictions of his works are much rarer. These two modest books are thus very welcome, bringing to light two relatively hidden and little known gems, the *Paradise Lost* and the *Pilgrim's Progress* windows at Geneva College in Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania. (Figs. 1 and 2)*

The windows were designed by a leading American artist, Henry Lee Willet (1899–1983), and installed in 1931 as the West and East windows of the Collegiate-Gothic McCartney Library. As its name suggests, Geneva College is a Presbyterian college founded on the Reformed Christian faith, so *Paradise Lost* and *The Pilgrim's Progress* were natural choices. Henry Lee Willet was also a Presbyterian and a close friend of Dr. Clarence E. McCartney, the Presbyterian pastor whom the library commemorates. The donors of the library were the Deal sisters, parishioners of Dr. McCartney's church in Philadelphia; Henry Willet recalled, "I was thrilled when the Misses Deal commissioned me in the depth of the depression" to design the stained glass (qtd. in *Pilgrim's Progress Windows* 9). The inspiration for the windows was the Stone Lecture given by McCartney at Princeton University in 1928 for John Bunyan's tercentenary. Coincidentally, in the very year that Willet completed the windows (1931), the eminent American stained glass artist, Charles J. Connick (1875–1945), completed his four "Christian Epics" (two



Fig. 1. *Paradise Lost* window.

*Photographs are provided by and reproduced courtesy of McCartney Library, Geneva College.



Fig. 2. *The Pilgrim's Progress* window.

Catholic and two Protestant) for the Chapel of Princeton University: the *Divine Comedy*, *Le Morte d'Arthur*, *Paradise Lost*, and *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

The Princeton windows are not mentioned in the books reviewed here. This is unfortunate, though perhaps understandable, given that the author Shirley Kilpatrick is not a scholar of stained glass, nor was her co-author, the late Howard Mattson-Bozé. Even the titles of their books are not strictly correct: they should read *Paradise Lost Window* and *Pilgrim's Progress Window*, not "windows." Each is a single window made up of a number of illustrative panels which are incorrectly referred to as "windows." However, these are technical quibbles. Kilpatrick is a faculty member of Geneva College, as was Mattson-Bozé, and their books reflect a thorough familiarity with the history of the windows, their dynamic presence in the McCartney Library, and their rich iconography. Each book includes color photographs of every panel, fold-out pages that reproduce the entire window, and a text that gives an account of the origins of the window, an introduction to the literary work, and a commentary on the window.

On the occasion of returning to Geneva College in 1966 to receive an honorary doctorate, the prolific Henry Lee Willet gave a speech in which he affirmed, "I doubt if I ever had more sheer joy than in developing these windows," a task he undertook mainly on Nantucket Island in the summer of 1930. He considered that "These great epics in their subject matter were peculiarly well suited for personification and translating into the idiom of stained glass" (qtd. in *Paradise Lost Windows* 4 and *Pilgrim's Progress Windows* 9). His designs are highly original and carefully thought out. Each window has eighteen panels structured in three tiers—six illustrative panels in each tier. Thus, in the east window, eighteen panels depict episodes from *The Pilgrim's Progress* and in the west window eighteen show episodes

from *Paradise Lost*. Shirley Kilpatrick devotes close attention to every panel in her commentaries, which are the core of each book; her method is first to quote the relevant passage from the literary text, then to analyze and interpret Willet's design.

Importantly, the windows are viewer-friendly: students can approach and study them close-up. (Fig. 3) In this respect, they differ markedly from Charles Connick's soaring, majestic "Christian Epics" in the cathedral-like Princeton Chapel, where a viewer needs binoculars. In addition, the Geneva College windows develop an easily read sequence that begins at the bottom tier on the extreme left and moves to the right, then up to the middle tier and then along to the left, then up to the top tier and along to the right. Unobtrusive captions or quotations are included with each panel. The first panel of the *Paradise Lost* window has "Sing Heavenly Muse" (*Paradise Lost* 1.6) and portrays Milton dictating to his daughter, while the eighteenth panel, on the extreme right of the top tier, captioned "Expulsion from the Garden," shows Adam and Eve being expelled from paradise by the archangel Michael. With the *Pilgrim's Progress* window, the first panel portrays Bunyan in prison with the caption, "I Dreamed a Dream," from the opening of *The Pilgrim's Progress*; the last panel has "Enter Ye into the Joy of Your Lord," and shows Christian at the end of his pilgrimage entering the celestial city with Hopeful. *The Pilgrim's Progress* was perhaps the easier work for Willet to translate into stained glass, since Bunyan's narrative unfolds chronologically and the central character, Christian, is always present, his journey reflected in the ascending sequence of panels.

The subtitle of the *Paradise Lost* book, "A Story in Lead and Light," is applicable to both windows, which could have been explained by the authors. It signals the narrative mode of the windows and the nature of the medium—stained glass artists refer to themselves as painting with light. The lead lines define the drawing and Willet's masterly draftsmanship is apparent in his handling of these opaque lines that form a dark outline to the figures and scenes depicted in translucent colored glass. Blue and red colors predominate in both windows. For details such as facial features



Fig. 3. Students reading the *Paradise Lost* window.

and the folds of a robe, a dark brown paint has been added to the surface of the glass, while Willet has chosen the palest colored quarries as a background to the scenes. The images on the front and back cover of the *Paradise Lost* book showcase his dramatic use of lead lines to define the fire of hell, red flames outlined in black.

Considering each book separately now, I turn to the first (published in 2007), on the *Paradise Lost* window. For this, Shirley Kilpatrick makes excellent use of Willet's notes, which are held in Geneva College's archives and record his ideas and artistic choices, such as his use of color symbolism. On the heavenly council in Book 3 of *Paradise Lost* Willet expresses a very personal view. He considered the idea that Milton was an anti-Trinitarian "ridiculous." "To refute this," he writes in his notes, "I have shown the unity of God and Christ by the similarity of the figures which are represented as flowing together so that one cannot tell where God ends and Christ begins, and yet each one has a distinct character" (qtd. in *Paradise Lost Windows* 19). (Fig. 4) On the Father's and the Son's robes in this scene, Kilpatrick believes that "Willet surely intends the red and blue of their robes to resonate symbolically as the traditional colors of the heavens and the spirit. (In all the windows the righteous angels wear the red and blue 'livery' of their Master.)" Skin tones are also significant. The first appearance of Eve shows her skin white but in the scene that depicts Adam and Eve eating the fruit, "what we notice most about Eve is her color.... She is turning the same color as Sin," who had made an entrance in the third panel ("The Gates of Hell") as orange-red. By the fourteenth panel, with the Son "Pitying how they



Fig. 4. God's Council; detail, *Paradise Lost* window.

stood / Before him” (*Paradise Lost* 10.211–12), Eve is now “more thoroughly red,” while Adam’s skin is the purple color of Death. By the sixteenth panel (“Christ Intercedes,” illustrating *Paradise Lost* 11.22–30), “Adam, fully the color of Death, and Eve, the color of Sin, cannot look at each other or their God” (*Paradise Lost Windows* 18, 31, 32, 34). Their purple and red skin tones are most emphatic in the final panel (“Expulsion from the Garden”), where Adam and Eve are bowed down in grief below the archangel Michael. (**Fig. 5**) Kilpatrick questions the emphasis of this panel: “In Willet’s telling, Eve never raises her head after she and Adam fall. . . . In Milton’s version, she doesn’t leave Eden doubled over in grief. She and Adam wipe away their tears, join hands, and start walking in faith” (*Paradise Lost Windows* 37). Kilpatrick could have benefited by knowing Charles Connick’s *Paradise Lost* window at Princeton: in one panel he portrays a devastated Adam and Eve with the quotation, “dust thou art, and shalt to dust returne” (*Paradise Lost* 10.208), but the panel directly above shows the archangel Michael sheltering Adam and Eve and the quotation, “shalt possess a paradise within thee, happier farr” (*Paradise Lost* 12.586–87).

Occasionally, Kilpatrick’s commentary falters, as with her interpretation of panel 7 (“Raphael Comes at Noon To Warn Adam and Eve”), where her failure to



Fig. 5. Expulsion; detail, *Paradise Lost* window.

see that the artist cannot portray the archangel's whole afternoon visit leads her into confusion over Milton's text. But her sharp eye for detail pursues the intricacies of Willet's vitreous translation. In the first panel, the rays shining on Milton's head (white, pale turquoise, and pale lavender glass) are "presumably the answer to his invocation—illumination from the Heavenly Muse." Satan depicted as a toad (panel six) has a sliver of yellow glass connecting his mouth to Eve's ear, which conveys his "devilish art." In panel nine, "Christ Drives Out the Rebel Angels," a tiny detail is detected: only here is the Son's crown "embellished with crosses. . . . Milton never uses the term 'Christ' for the pre-incarnate Son. This is Willet's choice, and clearly he wants us to see in this encounter the beginning of the Son's battle against evil, culminating in his work on the cross." Willet's emphasis on creation is striking—three panels of the eighteen—and in panel ten ("Conglobing Like Things to Like"), Kilpatrick distinguishes his design from work of the earlier illustrators Jean Baptiste Medina and Gustave Doré. "Willet's God," she declares, "is handling 'dirt.'" Through a biblical metaphor, the creator is portrayed as a potter fashioning a work from clay. In the twelfth panel ("Breath of Life"), Kilpatrick believes that "Willet aims to develop close ties between the First and Second Adams." The Son is holding in his arms a very pale, newly created Adam, who is portrayed "in a crucifix pose, foreshadowing the time when Adam will need the Son to take on this posture for him" (*Paradise Lost Windows* 15, 21, 25, 26, 29–30).

The later book, on the *Pilgrim's Progress* window (published in 2011), has introductory essays of more substance than those of the earlier book. Mattson-Bozé draws on Clarence McCartney's Stone Lecture, and Kilpatrick quotes from McCartney's address at the dedication of the library on 3 October 1931. He spoke of the rightness of placing the window in a library: "In Bunyan's immortal dream, his pilgrim comes to the house of the Interpreter. Interpreter admits him to the house and with a candle in his hand shows him pictures. . . . Imagine students sitting here remote from the roar of the gridiron, the clatter of the commons, and the gossip of the dormitory, and with the silent masters to teach them, learning the meaning of life and catching a vision of its greatness" (qtd. in *Pilgrim's Progress Windows* 9). Kilpatrick also makes astute reference to C. S. Lewis's essay on Bunyan in his *Selected Literary Essays* (Cambridge, 1969). She notes his praise for Bunyan's ability "to breathe contemporary life into his work" and quotes Lewis's remark that "the light is sharp: it never comes through stained glass." "Herein," writes Kilpatrick, "lies Willet's challenge." He has to translate that vitality into stained glass and must avoid "frozen" images. The window "is primarily about this life and the progress or journey Christian makes in it. Willet works hard to preserve this sense of movement and life" (*Pilgrim's Progress Windows* 13). There is indeed a liveness about this window, evident also in Willet's preparatory drawings, two of which are reproduced opposite the book's Foreword. Willet also chose to sign this window: "Henry Lee Willet Philadelphia 1931" is hidden in the lower left corner of the panel captioned "Fear Not," depicting Christian threatened by lions.

In her commentary on the *Pilgrim's Progress* window, Kilpatrick provides much longer passages of text than she does for the *Paradise Lost* window. The result is that we are drawn into Bunyan's text and its developing narrative as we relate it to Willet's designs, step by step of Christian's journey. In particular, the appearances of Faithful (panel nine, "My Well-Beloved Brother Faithful") and the silver mine (panel fourteen, "A Snare to Those That Seek It") are given lengthy passages from Bunyan's text. Kilpatrick seems not to have had recourse to notes from Willet but her own observations are strengthened with particular insights. She writes well on



Fig. 6. Slough of Despond; detail, *The Pilgrim's Progress* window.

the Slough of Despond (panel 3), pointing to Willet's handling of color and the vitality of his drawing: the slough is "a murky mix of red and green. Faces swirl in the Slough; two swirling figures reach up and ensnare Christian." (Fig. 6) Then Help comes to the rescue: "With shoes off and sleeves rolled up, Help braces himself with his toes and pulls Christian with all his might." Of all the many characters that Christian meets, Kilpatrick notes that Willet chooses to highlight Talkative by giving him a panel all to himself, an arresting portrayal of Talkative standing on a spinning wheel and "words" "words" "words" written minutely on the glass and seeming to fly from his mouth. The image conveys Talkative's "non-stop speech" and allows Willet "to highlight the importance of language and interpretation—so central to Bunyan's work and all of English Puritan thought. Of course here, words become like so much vapor in the air, devoid of meaning and lasting significance, thus their danger." (*Pilgrim's Progress Windows* 17, 27)

Kilpatrick also comments on the small insets that characterize the *Pilgrim's Progress* window, such as "Doubting Castle." (Fig. 7) The following are a few of many examples. With the Slough of Despond, in a lower inset "we see Pliable pictured as a kind of 'Rubber Band Man' . . . In an upper inset, Mr. Worldly-Wise-man, a jaunty fellow with a feather in his cap stands confidently with his hands in his



Fig. 7. Giant Despair; detail, *The Pilgrim's Progress* window.

pockets." In an upper inset of "My Well-Beloved Brother Faithful," Wanton "is pictured provocatively on her knees." In the seventeenth panel, captioned "We Believe There is Such a Place," Christian and Hopeful confront Atheist, while in an inset below, "we see Ignorance, who is not looking where he is going. One step more and he is going to trip over a large rock" (*Pilgrim's Progress Windows* 17, 26, 36).

Kilpatrick's commentary on the *Paradise Lost* and the *Pilgrim's Progress* windows led me to think about how Willet handles these two very different literary works. The same style of draftsmanship, colors, and structure is evident in both windows, as well as the short textual quotations, but *The Pilgrim's Progress* has these additional insets throughout, far more than for *Paradise Lost*. Their purpose is to fill out details of Bunyan's allegory, an allegory that is characterized by what C. S. Lewis terms a "homely immediacy." *Paradise Lost* is not an allegory, nor is it homely. It is an august visionary epic and Willet works more by suggestion with this window and largely lets the images speak for themselves, as through his color symbolism. Still, Milton's unique sublime eludes him. The artists who come closest to it are William

Blake, Henry Fuseli, and especially John Martin, while Charles Connick's Princeton *Paradise Lost* aspires toward it.

In conclusion, I would like to reaffirm the rarity of these windows at Geneva College. To illustrate any literary work in stained glass is an ambitious feat. Apart from the cost, the fundamental reason for the rarity is that, unlike paintings and illustrated books, stained glass is not a portable or autonomous art. As an architectural art, it is tied to a building, a building constructed at a particular time and place for a particular purpose. The meaning of the stained glass is part of that context. For example, the acclaimed Britomart windows at Cheltenham Ladies' College in Gloucestershire are part of the cultural history of the school. Miss Dorothea Beale, principal from 1858 to 1906, was the driving force behind the proliferation of stained glass windows in the college and she considered Spenser's Britomart the ideal of womanhood. Designed by E. Gertrude Thomson and Frederic Shields, the Britomart windows were manufactured by Heaton, Butler, and Bayne in 1881–82, at the height of the stained glass revival, and are part of the architecture of the school's grand staircase. Read from left to right, they depict scenes from Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* with quotations from the text. Any illustration of *Paradise Lost* in stained glass would likewise have to find an appropriate context. In 1931, both *Paradise Lost* and *The Pilgrim's Progress* had the rare good fortune to find a donor, an artist, a building, and an institution entirely amenable to the translation of these two masterworks of the Reformed faith into stained glass. Documentation about them is now available through these books. The College's website also provides information and there are photographs of the stained glass on the Internet (the *Paradise Lost* window is a popular backdrop for various events). A recent volume of essays, *Milton in Translation* (Oxford, 2017), raises the question, what is lost and what is gained by interlingual and intralingual translation? If you are able to visit Geneva College, take with you your own experience of *Paradise Lost* and *The Pilgrim's Progress* and ask, what is lost and what is perhaps gained in Willet's vitreous translations?

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Katharine Gillespie. *Women Writing the English Republic, 1625–1681*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2017. xii + 354pp. ISBN 13: 9781107149120. \$126.00 (cloth).

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Recent scholarship presents early modern English republicanism as a broad and complex movement or creed, rather than defining it narrowly as a campaign for government without a king or as an elaborate, classically inflected, political theory. Furthermore, with some important exceptions, most notably in David Norbrook's work on Lucy Hutchinson, republicanism, founded often on a sharp distinction between public and private worlds, is seen as valorizing masculine concepts of citizenship, and hostile or resistant to female agency.

Katharine Gillespie's lively and provocative book shares a broad understanding of republicanism, drawing particularly on Jonathan Scott's call to bring together